Labor Must Lead Way, Say Ford Union Heads

Need for a New Party Stressed In "Ford Facts"

"The formation of a third party" is the "only real hope of the common people for a better future," state the four top officers of Ford Local 600, CIO United Automobile Workers, in a full-page signed statement in the Nov. 29 **Ford Facts**, organ of the largest local union in the United States.

Headlined in eight columns of big, bold-faced type, **"LABOR MUST LEAD THE WAY,"** the declaration urges organized labor to "review our mistakes" in view of the "serious setback" in the elections and to "form a new policy and chart a new course in conformity with the changed conditions."

FOUR SIGNERS

This statement is signed by Carl Stellato, Ford 600 President; Pat Rice, Vice-President; William R. Hood, Recording Secretary; and W. G. Grant, Financial Secretary. They were recently re-elected to office by the Ford membership after UAW President Walter Reuther and his international executive board had clamped a dictator-receiver on the local in an attempt to silence and drive out critics of his conservative and reactionary policies.

The Ford leaders' statement is weakened by confusing and ambiguous references to the Democratic Party which seem to still hold out a bare hope that something might be done through the Democratic Party channels. **But by comparison with the toadying toward the new Republican administration of most of the top labor leaders and their continued slavish support of the capitalist two-party monopoly of politics, the statement of the Ford local leaders is a bold and rousing summons to labor.**

They make it plain that the American people can depend for peace, economic security and social freedom only on the organized labor movement and this indicates the need for formation of labor's own party.

THE WAR ISSUE

The Ford 600 leaders acknowledge that the majority "cast their ballots in the belief that General Eisenhower would go to Korea and end the war. . ." Now, they say, "the facts show the opposite to be true." Eisenhower may keep his promise to go to Korea, "but can that alone bring peace?"

The GOP policy-makers are representatives of Big Business and Wall Street and "we question whether they sincerely want peace. . . For it is their corporations that reap huge and tremendous profits from the armaments program resulting from the cold war and Korea. . ." They charge it was the Republicans and only "a few reactionaries in the Demo-

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Workers of the World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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War to Continue, Eisenhower Indicates After Trip to Korea

Press Sizes Up Trip as "No Solution"

Eisenhower's secret trip to Korea has aroused all sorts of speculation in the capitalist press as to his future course. Most commentators agree, however, that he came out of Korea as he went in, with "no solution" other than to continue the war.

"War will go on . . . American troops cannot come home in the forseeable future. Arming of Koreans will be expanded, speeded. Koreans, even so, cannot take over all front-line fighting within 12 months to 18 months," observes the Dec. 12 **U.S. News and World Report.** It adds: **"American troop strength is more likely to rise than decline in Korea."**

In the Dec. 8 **N. Y. Herald-Tribune,** columnist Walter Millis writes that "it is clear that General Eisenhower had arrived at no 'solutions' — it would have been folly to suppose that he could have done so — and that Korea still presented the old dilemma: to fight it out, wait it out or get out. His brief words . . . left no doubt that the third course had been written off the books, but they gave no indication as to the conclusion between the first two."

The **N. Y. Times** of Dec. 7 observed: "He had made one thing abundantly clear: There would be no withdrawal from Korea. The General told the Seoul press conference the U.N. must 'see it through,' and added: 'I am far from defeatist on this business. . . Much can be done . . . much will be done.' But he was not definite about specific measures."

Eisenhower's trip and statement, according to Joseph C. Harsch, special Washington correspondent of the **Christian Science Monitor,** have settled one "anguishing question" — he would not "succumb" to "the pressure to obtain an escape from American involvement in that war by withdrawal of American troops." There will be, Harsch says, "no fundamental change in approach" from that of Truman before him.

We can conclude from these comments that, contrary to Eisenhower's promises, the war will go on; more U.S. troops will be shipped to Korea; there will be more casualties; the war may be intensified.

That's That

Sold American People Gold Brick with His Election Promises

General Eisenhower sold a gold brick to millions of American voters when he promised before elections to go to Korea, implying he would end the war. He has made his promised trip — but the end of the war is no more clearly in sight than it was under Truman. Whatever purpose was served by Eisenhower's much-ballyhooed trip, it was not the cause of peace.

His first statement made clear that he has no program for ending the Korean slaughter and bringing the U.S. troops home. "We have no panaceas, no trick ways of settling any problems," he said. Prior to the elections, however, he gave the impression to the American people that he had some real peace move in mind.

Eisenhower said last Oct. 24 that he would make a "personal trip to Korea" because "only in that way could I learn how best to serve the American people in the cause of peace" and bring the war to an "honorable end." Virtually every newspaper headlined this as a promise to bring the war to a speedy close. Typical of Oct. 25 headlines was that in the **N.Y. Daily News,** with its 2,100,000 circulation: **" 'I Shall Go to Korea': Ike** — If Elected, He'll Go to End War — Ike Pledges Trip to Korea to Get Honorable Peace."

Eisenhower's trip to Korea had nothing to do with peace. It had to do with how best and most advantageously to prosecute the war. Most of his time was spent in ceremony and talking with generals and the officials of Dictator Syngman Rhee's South Korean government.

The General gave no hint as to his course, other than rejecting an end to the war and withdrawal of the troops. He can choose, therefore, only an indefinite continuation of the present war of attrition, a steady drain of blood and lives; or an all-out offensive with heavy casualties and expansion of the war. The first, sooner or later, must lead to the second.

The Militant predicted when Eisenhower made his election promise — and we repeated it no later than our last issue — that the one sure thing was that Eisenhower would not end the war if he went to Korea. This treacherous demagogue has already exposed himself before taking office.

FRAME-UP VICTIM FREED IN CHICAGO STRIKE CASE

CHICAGO, Dec. 3 — The frame-up attempt against Harold Ward, a union leader in the McCormick Works here of the recently-struck International Harvester Co., collapsed yesterday when a jury on the first ballot acquitted him of a first-degree murder charge. Ward, one of the most active and prominent Negro unionists in this area, had been indicted during the bitterly-fought 14-week strike for allegedly killing a scab, William Foster.

Acquitted

HAROLD WARD

The union official, secretary of Local 108, Farm Equipment Union division of the United Electrical Workers (independent), took the stand in his own defense and denied the charge. Witness after witness testified to Ward's activities far from the murder scene at the time he was alleged to have killed Foster, whose slaying was in no way linked with the strike or union.

The state's case folded up when three of the prosecution's four eye-witnesses failed to identify Ward. The fourth, who had been built up in the press as a "mystery" witness, got confused in his identification. The mystery was how he was induced to testify. Defense attorney William Scott Stewart sought to show the witness had his eye on a $10,000 reward put up by International Harvester, on whose behalf the prosecution of Ward was initiated and pressed.

The Chicago daily papers, which had headlined the indictment and prosecution to smear the union with a charge of violence, buried the story of the acquittal on the back pages. They withheld from the public the disclosure that the state had no case when it tried to send Ward to the electric chair.

Now that Ward has been freed after six terrible weeks in prison, the union is attempting to have him reinstated in his job at the McCormick Works as a coremaker. The company, which long ago convicted Ward of militant unionism, had fired him on the basis of the frame-up charge.

With the Ward frame-up attempt thwarted, the company is putting pressure on the union through other means. Fink groups in several Harvester plants have filed petitions for new NLRB elections. The union had been forced to call off its strike on unfavorable terms because of terrorism and red-baiting.

KILLING OF AFRICAN LABOR LEADER BRINGS HUGE ANTI-FRENCH UPSURGE

By George Lavan

Unrest in North Africa has reached "nearly revolutionary proportions," according to the Dec. 9 Christian Science Monitor. The French imperialists are rushing more troops to put down strike demonstrations in Tunisia and virtual revolt in Morocco precipitated by the brutal assassination of Farhat Hached, Tunisian labor leader.

Hached, head of the General Union of Tunisian Workers and the only first-rank independence leader not yet imprisoned by the French, was murdered Dec. 5. His car was riddled with machine-gun fire, then the wounded labor leader was dragged out and his head and face beaten in beyond recognition. The body was dumped on the road five miles from the scene of the shooting.

The 39-year-old union leader would normally have been in New York at this time attending the sessions of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, to whose executive committee he belonged. But the French rulers of Tunisia had canceled his passport to prevent his attendance at the sessions.

French military governor Hautclocque's attempts to blame "nationalists" or "communists" for the assassination were promptly scotched by Tunisian labor and independence leaders in exile or hiding. They placed the blame either on Hautelocque's police or French terrorist groups which operate against Tunisians under government protection.

The French imperialists followed up Hached's assassination with the arrest of his successor and seven other Tunisian leaders. Hautclocque's firing squads also went into action with the execution of three Tunisian nationalists, the first of ten condemned to death.

Despite the attempt to behead their organizations, Tunisian workers staged a three-day general strike in defiance of the French military.

In Morocco, attempts of the French police and army to prevent protest demonstrations brought the colony to the verge of open revolt. Casablanca newspapers report eight French and 40 Moroccans killed in the fighting. Using armored cars and tanks the French were besieging the headquarters of the General Confederation of Labor, where unarmed unionists were fighting

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Solution to Korea

An Editorial

Eisenhower's trip to Korea has started the process of disillusionment among a lot of people. Even the politically unsophisticated can see the general has welched on his implied promise to end the Korean war and that he pulled a fast one on the American people when he made that his main campaign pledge.

It's pretty obvious that if Eisenhower had peace in mind when he went to Korea he certainly would have sought a conference with representatives of the Chinese and North Koreans. He did no such thing. He spent his time reviewing half-frozen troops and talking with his fellow generals and the officials of Dictator Syngman Rhee's government.

The capitalist press and the hired propagandists have painted Eisenhower as that rarest of species in capitalist politics — an honest man. You can depend on Eisenhower, they repeated endlessly. Open and honest as the day is long. That's why so many fell for his campaign pitch that he would try to do something effective to end the war.

Was it possible, people asked themselves, that this great general, this man above factions sought by both major parties as their candidate — was it possible that he was just another typical capitalist politician whom you can trust no further than you can toss a carload of war medals?

It has taken only a few weeks to chip the gilt off this Big Brass. And some regretful people who voted for Eisenhower to stop the Korean war can now see that he actually is only another cheap, conniving politician. The capitalist parties don't pick any other type.

The Republican and Democratic parties are both controlled by cliques of hard-headed, ruthless millionaires and billionaires who would not give a plugged nickel for all the honesty in the world. The ruling capitalist clique will make the final decision on Korea. It will do so in accordance with its aims and interests. Eisenhower, its agent, made his campaign promises and his trip to Korea solely for their propaganda value.

This quick revelation of Eisenhower's duplicity and demagogy emphasizes how little dependence can be placed on capitalist politicians for peace. If the Korean war is to be ended speedily, if a Third World War is to be prevented, it must come through the independent action of the people in opposition to the political tools of Big Business.

The American people will have to carry on their own organized struggle to force Washington to withdraw the American troops from Korea and to halt the mad drive of Wall Street toward an atomic world war.

Mass pressure must be mobilized to get Eisenhower to withdraw the troops from Korea. Let's end the war and bring the American boys home. Truman sent them to Korea by a simple executive order. Eisenhower can call them home merely by another executive order. Demand that he issue such an order as his first Presidential act!

Major Issues Side-Tracked at CIO Convention

By Harry Frankel

Nothing that occurred at the 14th Constitutional Convention of the CIO, held at Atlantic City Dec. 1-4, shows any grasp of the problems facing the labor movement by the top leadership of the industrial unions.

Although the convention held twice-daily sessions in the Chelsea Hotel, no convention really took place, at least not in the meeting hall. The entire leadership was knee-deep in a clique fight over the CIO presidency opened by the death of Philip Murray. The activity in the hall during the brief and lifeless sessions was restricted almost entirely to the reading and passage of standard resolutions interspersed with speeches by honorary invitees. Not one of the CIO leaders had a serious or thoughtful word to say about the future of the CIO.

Many commentators have tried to interpret the Reuther-Haywood battle as a reflection of differences in tendency between two wings of the CIO. This plausible-sounding scheme fails to take into account the following facts which were apparent to union observers before and during the convention:

(1.) Neither wing made any programmatic appeal of any kind to unionists. There was no difference between them in interpreting events or in propositions as to how to meet the future.

(2.) Reuther's social-democratic line by no means predisposes him to a more militant policy than that of the "old-time unionists." His course has been, if anything, more conservative than that of the steel and mine unions. One reason for this is that, since his rank-and-file is more turbulent and aggressive, he has tried to curb the militants, while the leadership in more quiescent unions, by contrast, has sought to stir up a bit more militancy in some recent struggles in order to win bargaining fights. Another reason is that Reuther's policy of "social-unionism," insofar as there is anything in it that goes beyond the general social outlook that has spread through the entire CIO, only has the effect in this period of making his union policy more conservative, not more militant. Thus it would be hard to distinguish between the two tendencies in terms of union program.

STAKES IN CLIQUE FIGHT

Although there is a certain difference in background and outlook that may have created some suspicion between the top leaders of the steel and auto unions, that is not what underlay this fight. Rather, it was a clique fight over control of the extensive apparatus of the CIO.

The national CIO, drawing its income from the 10-cents monthly per capita, takes in between $4 million and $5 million a year, more than the income of most small internationals.

The organizing department of the national CIO alone includes about 200 jobs, in the form of regional, sub-regional and assistant directors, field representatives, etc. Further, there are about 200 local industrial unions directly affiliated to the national CIO. In addition, there are staffs for the legal, legislative, international, education and research, and publicity departments.

Haywood, the candidate of the steel union, would have enabled David J. MacDonald to strengthen his position in his new job as president of the steel union by giving him control of the CIO apparatus. Reuther, on the other hand, fully consolidated in the auto union, is looking around for new worlds to conquer and the presidency of the CIO is the next logical jumping-off point for him.

The word was out at the convention that Reuther was spreading job promises with a lavish hand in the course of his campaign for the presidency. Knowing the use he has made of the UAW budget and job apparatus in consolidating a personal machine, there is no doubt what is coming in the national CIO under its new President Reuther.

NO PERSPECTIVE

The resolutions passed by the CIO convention include the usual demands in the fields of health and social insurance improvements, civil rights for minorities, housing and rent, changes in tax laws, conservation, education, etc. These add up to what might be called a labor program of a sort; absurdly modest and inadequate in the face of labor's power and needs, but a program nevertheless.

But while the CIO has this program, it has no perspective whatsoever. It has no view of the future showing how this program will be achieved.

The annual report of the president, drawn by Murray before his death, describes an almost unbroken record of defeat for labor on the legislative front since 1946, even since 1938. Faced with this inability to make progress under Democratic auspices, the labor movement now has the added handicap of increased reactionary weight in Congress and a Republican administration.

The CIO is left in the position of favoring a return to Democratic power, or in other words to the same setup under which labor progress had practically come to a halt many years ago. This must be called a total absence of perspective and orientation. As yet, no portion of the union top leadership has pointed to the course that can open up a progressive labor perspective: that of an independent labor party.

The sum total of the reply made by the CIO to the Republican electoral victory was a pledge to resist every effort of the "reactionary coalition in Congress" to "turn the clock back" At the same time, Eisenhower is reminded of his pledge to "carry on and improve large segments of the New and Fair Deal programs," (his Korea pledge is not mentioned), and told that "all steps" of that kind will have the CIO's "full support."

One important change in CIO policy is advocacy at this convention of the scrapping of all wage and price controls and the substitution of standby controls to be used only in case of emergency. The CIO had, in the past, agreed to wage ceilings provided prices were also held down. Claiming that there is no effec-

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HOW WOMEN IN AMERICA FOUGHT FOR SHORTER DAY

By Joyce Cowley

"Try again" was the motto adopted by five mill girls in Lowell, Mass., who met in December 1844 and decided to fight for the 10-hour day. A year later, the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association had over 600 members in Lowell and branches in every large textile center in New England.

In 1845 the Association sent a petition with over 2,000 signatures to the state legislature. There was no labor committee in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, so their petition was referred to the Committee on Manufactures. William Schouler, proprietor of the **Lowell Courier,** suddenly became chairman of this committee.

Sarah Bagley, President of the Association, and other mill operatives — undeterred by the fact that it was not considered genteel for women to appear publicly in this manner — testified before the committee on their working conditions. **This was the first government investigation of labor conditions in United States history.** Eliza Hemingway told how 150 people worked in one room where 293 small lamps and 61 large ones burned morning and evening. Judith Payne and Sarah Bagley reported that they were out as much as one-third of the time on account of illness.

Schouler and his committee took a quick trip to Lowell and reached the conclusion that a 14-hour day had a very healthful effect on the operators. After commenting on "grass plots, trees and varieties of flowers in season" cultivated on factory grounds, he concludes his report: "The remedy for long hours does not lie with us. We look for it in the progressive improvement of art and science, in a higher appreciation of man's destiny, in a less love for money and a more ardent love for social happiness and intellectual superiority."

The mill girls had an answer: "As he is merely a corporation man or tool, we will use our best endeavors to keep him in the City of Spindles where he belongs and not trouble the Boston folk with him." They made good on this and the following year, through the efforts of the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association, he was defeated for re-election. This was a real achievement because **the women had no vote.**

A second petition with almost 15,000 signatures, referred to the Massachusetts Senate, was supported by strikes and mass demonstrations which brought the passage of a 10-hour law in New Hampshire in 1847 and an 11-hour law in Massachusetts in 1853.

Discussing its struggle in **The Golden Threads,** Hannah Josephson says: "When it is remembered that the first Women's Rights Convention was not held until 1848, the equal or rather predominant role of women — and more particularly the textile operatives — in the resurgent labor movement between 1845 and 1847 seems all the more remarkable."

Personally, I don't find it so remarkable that woman's struggle for economic rights preceded her struggle for legal recognition. Women in textile and other early industries first became financially independent, then learned to battle it out with the bosses and politicians. This brought a real change in the status of women, laying the base for legal equality and suffrage.

FRENCH IMPERIALISM SHAKEN BY UPSURGE IN NORTH AFRICA

(Continued from page 1)

back with bricks pried from the walls of their building.

French troops evacuated Europeans from sections of Casablanca and from towns in the interior for fear of reprisals. Planes circled the Moroccan sections of Casablanca dropping tear gas bombs to keep people off the streets and also to let them know that high explosive bombs would shortly follow if actual revolt began. Two daily and two weekly Arabic newspapers were banned.

While men were dying in Tunisia for independence, diplomats in the UN were talking and double-talking about the same subject.

After a year of trying to get the French reign of terror in Tunisia discussed in the UN, the Arab-Asian bloc of nations succeeded in presenting a resolution.

Attempts to do so last April were thwarted by the U.S. delegation. The ensuing denunciation of the U.S. in colonial and semi-colonial countries and criticism at home from the AFL and CIO made it impossible for the State Department to block discussion of Tunisia this time.

The Arab-Asian resolution was very moderate, urging France to "establish normal conditions and normal civil liberties" in Tunisia and to resume negotiations with the legal representatives of the colony — the cabinet of Premier Chenik, whom the French illegally deposed.

Imperialist strategy against this mild resolution was twofold. France boycotted the session. The U.S. had Latin-American delegations, controlled by Washington, introduce a meaningless resolution. French political leaders hailed U.S. backing of this "compromise" resolution. The Indian delegate, Mrs. Pandit, condemned it as containing only "mild exhortations and pious intentions."

In Washington, D. C., AFL President George Meany condemned Hached's murder as a "gruesome blow against democratic labor and human freedom." "Through their policy of repression, terror, concentration camps and permanent state of seige, French colonial authorities have brought about a situation which had its logical and ghastly conclusion — the killing of Hached," Meany declared.

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Reporter Tells Use of Chiang's Agents in Koje POW Poll Fraud

Eye-witness testimony that Chinese and North Korean prisoners of war on Koje Island were brutally coerced to say they favored "voluntary repatriation" and did not want to go back to their homelands, is given by Korean War correspondent William Stevenson in The Star Weekly, Canada's most widely circulated Sunday supplement, published in Toronto.

Stevenson is the only reporter who succeeded in entering a Koje prison compound over which the South Korean Anti-Communist Youth League, a fascist-like organization modelled on the Hitler Youth, and agents of the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship on Formosa, had gained control.

His sensational disclosure of how the "poll" was taken which the U.S. military at Panmunjom used as the basis for their demand for "voluntary repatriation" in the truce talks is part of a full-page article in the Nov. 22 **Star Weekly** devoted to the inside story of the Chiang regime and armed forces on Formosa. Stevenson visited Formosa on a recent tour of the Far East.

CHIANG'S MEN ON KOJE

"In Korea, Chinese Nationalists from Formosa managed to get into Koje Island prison compounds as 'instructors,' with the U.S. Army's cultural and educational service. They helped organize the South Korea Anti-Communist League, which imposes President Syngman Rhee's will upon the civil population: The league was modelled on the Hitler Youth by South Korea's last home secretary, Lee Bum Suk, who himself spent a lengthy exile in Nazi Germany," reports Stevenson.

"I was the only newspaperman to enter a Koje compound over which the Anti-Communist Youth league exerted control," he relates. "With me was Selwyn Lloyd, British minister of state. An attempt was made to dissuade Lloyd from entering by General Edward H. Lastayo, U.S. Second Logistics Command."

PHYSICAL THREATS

One of Gen. Lastayo's subordinate's, Col. Joseph James, explained that "the anti-Communist Youth league wields discipline here and punishes anyone who gets out of line." The safety of Stevenson and Lloyd "depended upon the good-will of the league leaders, identified by metal badges which they wore in their buttonholes. These men kept a check on their fellow prisoners through 'battalion commanders' who ushered us into the compound after General Lastayo had been persuaded we would come to no harm."

This compound of 10,400 captured Chinese and North Korean troops was reported to have "voted against repatriation to their Communist-dominated homes. A brief investigation showed that the vote was unanimous because of the physical threats — often carried out — made by league members against any dissenter. Much the same situation prevailed in other 'anti-Communist' prison compounds, where the Chinese Nationalist instructors had told prisoners: 'Ask to go to Formosa or you will stay here and rot. . .'"

Stevenson, who is strongly anti-Communist, confirms previous evidence published by **The Militant** showing that the "poll" of Chinese and North Korean prisoners which the U.S. command said it took last April was a fraud.

DEADLOCK TRUCE

Stevenson observes that the results of this "strategy has been a prolonged deadlock in the Korean truce negotiations. United Nations delegates adopted a policy of refusing to repatriate any prisoner who genuinely feared returning to Communist territory. They accepted a report that 100,000 prisoners fell into this category — the largest proportion, in fact, of all Communist troops taken prisoner."

But; Stevenson reports, "It has been since demonstrated that many of these men had no particular reason for expecting Communist reprisal, but did fear the anti-Communist leadership in their own compounds."

CHIANG ON FORMOSA

These revelations on the Koje "poll" are part of a devastating exposure of the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship on Formosa which the U.S. Seventh Fleet is protecting and grooming for invasion of the Chinese mainland.

"They're Living on Dreams in Formosa," is the title of the article, which explodes the fiction that Chiang commands any kind of force capable of carrying through such an adventure as a mainland invasion. There are "less than 500,000 Nationalist troops. Only 200,000 of them are fit for combat."

The tentacles of Chiang's "China Lobby" stretch "as far as Korea, Ottawa and Washington." But its success in Ottawa, contrary to its reception in Washington, "has not been notable to date. Canada has too many government advisers with first-hand knowledge of what happened in China when Chiang Kai-shek held sway."

WHAT CHIANG HOPES

One Canadian government adviser told Stevenson: "We might as well accept the fact that China's present Communist regime is far more decried outside China than within, despite brutal indoctrination methods, mass executions, regimentation and so forth. The Nationalists have little chance of expunging their own black record."

What the Formosan gang hope for is "continuation of the Korean war" which "means a steady drain on Communist Chinese military and economic strength." This offers "some hope that Chinese Nationalists may yet get drawn into the battle, with the prospect that then the United Nations will get involved in a war on the Chinese mainland."

CHINESE PEOPLE'S VIEW

But Chiang's troops are weakened by "prolonged idleness" and "are tired now" and "further idleness . . . will see a further lowering of morale." Chiang has engaged some of his forces in hit-and-run raids on off-shore islands. But his "guerrilla forces" on the mainlands have proved a flop. His officers, far from dreaming of returning to the mainland with an all-conquering army, "now believe they must start all over again with a thoroughly organized guerrilla force. . ."

Stevenson observes, however, that "the Chinese people are not likely to take kindly to invading Nationalist guerrillas, when this means burning the crops, destruction of highways and railroads and factories — many painfully built up under the new regime. They cannot be expected to respond to a 'liberation' campaign led by a man whom they have learned to despise."

The information which Stevenson has reported in the Canadian capitalist press has been completely suppressed in the American newspapers. It throws more light both on the methods used by the U.S. and its allies to block a truce in Korea and on the kind of regime the U.S. is backing in Formosa and preparing for an attempted invasion of China.

Terrorizing PWs on Koje

Above are shown U.S. troops, guns poised and backed by tanks, with PWs near a prison compound shortly after the massacre in the Koje Island prisoner-of-war camps last June. A reign of terror is maintained over the PWs by the U.S. military, using agents of Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee to coerce prisoners into saying they do not wish to be repatriated. Almost weekly, new wounding and killing of North Korean and Chinese prisoners of war is reported.

Major Issues Side-Tracked at CIO Convention

(Continued from page 1)

tive price control at all, the CIO has now withdrawn its agreement to the wage freeze.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

One of the most important blind spots in the convention proceedings was the absence of any expressed concern over the spread of the witch hunt. The 75,000-word report of the president contains not one single word against the witch hunt, although it covers the entire globe and includes extensive legal and legislative sections. Two references to the witch hunt in the report approve the administration purge policy. One complains that the Taft-Hartley law doesn't enable employers to fire employees for their political views. The other approves the Coast Guard screening program under which almost 1,800 seamen and over 800 dock workers have been thrown out of their normal occupations.

However, the convention did pass a resolution on civil liberties which, while weak, continues the good CIO stand of opposing punishment on grounds of thought, opinions and advocacy alone.

The foreign policy section of the resolution gave full support to the Truman-Eisenhower-Wall Street war drive. It made a reservation (also included in Senator Wayne Morse's speech to the convention): that the various colonial movements are not attributable to "communism" but reflect a progressive desire for self-betterment. The resolution concludes that the U.S. should support these movements and try to win them away from communist leadership.

This slight disagreement with Pentagon policy, however, is completely negated by the fact that the CIO did not offer support to a single existing colonial movement. It refused to come to the aid of the Indo-Chinese, Malayan, Egyptian, Iranian or any of the other colonial revolts.

The same pattern is duplicated in the Latin American portion of the resolution. It says abstractly: "The Latin American peoples have strong convictions leading to radical changes in land tenure and ownership in certain industries. We believe our government must be tolerant of all such strivings pursued by democratic means."

HIT BOLIVIAN WORKERS

This mild and condescending stand in the resolution is at once negated by a statement in the president's report, also adopted by the convention, labelling the most important recent movement of the Latin American people as "totalitarian" and "fascist." These are the epithets applied to the democratic movement of the armed and disciplined Bolivian tin miners who have forced the nationalization of the foreign-owned Bolivian mines. In view of this stand, it is not clear when the CIO will start to pay off on its promises of sympathy for the colonial people. If it is waiting for a movement against imperialism which will get a stamp of approval from Washington, then it might as well quit waiting, because it will never find one.

ONE SPEECH THAT AROUSED INTEREST AT CIO CONVENTION

Oregon Senator Wayne Morse, whose CIO convention speech on Dec. 2 laid heavy stress on what he called "work towards peace, not towards war," was one of the few speakers whose remarks were closely followed by the convention. His appeal against "military psychology" was loudly applauded. In the course of his remarks he made the following statement:

"I have recently completed a 30,000-mile inspection tour, as a member of the Armed Services Committee of the Senate, of our military bases abroad. I do not scare easily, but I have come home a frightened man, frightened about this issue of peace, frightened because I believe that too many in the American military establishment have accepted the assumption — and it is an assumption — that World War III is inevitable. Let me tell you what I saw as a member of a two-man subcommittee inspecting our military bases abroad. As far as the psychology of the American military personnel abroad, it is that they are proceeding on the assumption that the war cannot be avoided.

"In the briefings, I never heard a discussion about avoiding World War III. I never even heard discussion from the premise 'If the alarm sounds.' Without exception in those briefings the discussion was based upon 'When the alarm sounds.'

"Finally, in one of those briefings, I asked Senator Long of Louisiana if I could ask a rhetorical question and make a comment. My question was this: 'Is there a military man in this briefing who believes that World War III can be avoided? If so, I would like to see his hand.'

"I saw no hands."

Newark Fri. Night Socialist Forum

presents a talk on

What Next for the CIO

Speaker:
Harry Frankel

Fri., Dec. 19, 8:30 P.M.
at 52 Market Street

Lesson in Politics Given by Byrnes

Labor leaders and heads of the NAACP would do well to ponder the political moves of Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina. This ultra-reactionary knows that the first lesson in politics is to maintain your independence. At a dinner Dec. 4, Byrnes spurned offers of Democratic chieftains to give up his independent position and join in an effort to "reform" the party.

He attacked the influence of labor leaders, the NAACP and "various racial groups from Europe" in the Democratic party and voiced alarm about Negroes voting Democratic. He also scored possible "secret political trades" with NAACP heads.

All this is pressure for more concessions to the Dixiecrats from Democratic bosses. To emphasize that he does not need to go along with Northern Democrats, Byrnes advised Southern Democrats to maintain their alliance with the Republicans for the present.

By their policy of independence, the Dixiecrats are able to wring maximum concessions from both Democrats and Republicans to the disadvantage of their far more powerful but less astute opponents.

CANNON DISCUSSES WHAT EISENHOWER PORTENDS

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 6 — An appreciative audience of 105 heard the first of James P. Cannon's lecture series "The Road to Socialism in America" here Friday night.

Discussing "America under Eisenhower," the National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party held that the election results showed that big capital had decided on a "change in the form and method of governmental rule in the United States."

"In substance the Roosevelt-Truman era in politics and government was an American version of the Peoples Front," Cannon said. "To be sure, there was no formal coalition of labor and capitalist parties, and couldn't be one, since our wise labor leaders, who are no doubt busy with a worldful of wonderful things, haven't yet had time to organize an independent labor party. The best they have been able to do so far has been to constitute a faction in the Democratic party."

UNGRATEFUL

Despite all the helpfulness of the labor leaders in taking responsibility for the government through the coalition, the "big financial interests most ungratefully decided to dispense with the services of the Peoples Front coalition for the next period." Big capital decided to "rule directly in its own name. . ."

The labor leaders with their fatuous slogan "you never had it so good," appeared in the campaign as "complacent glorifiers of the status quo, repelling millions who are not so contented as they are."

WAS IT WISE?

Touching on the demagogy with which the Republican party stampeded the people to the polls in order to bring about the direct rule of big capital, Cannon asked: **"Was it the part of wisdom for them to take such a drastic decision? Was it not premature? Did greed blunt their judgment?"**

Reserving a definitive answer until events emerge more clearly, Cannon nonetheless indicated that "it may well turn out, in the final account, that the course they have followed in the 1952 election campaign was one of those important decisions which looked good, but turned out bad. Bad for them, that is."

NEXT IN SERIES

The audience, which included many unionists and students, was elated and inspired by the depth of the analysis and the warmth of the speaker. Their enthusiasm over the first lecture augurs well for attendance at those to come. After the Dec. 12 and Dec. 19 sessions, the next in the series will be held Jan. 9. The subject will be "The Coming Struggle for Power." Place: 1702 E. 4th St. Time: 8 P.M.

"Labor Must Lead the Way," State Officers of UAW Ford Local 600

(Continued from Page 1)

cratic Party" in Congress "who fueled the cold war with their mad and sadistic ravings for atomic wars, for greater armaments and tools for war at the expense of the bread and butter needs of the people. . ." This statement, of course, conceals the true role of the Democratic Party and Truman administration as the prime initiators of the "cold war" and Korean "police action."

ASK KEY QUESTIONS

Nevertheless, they ask the pertinent questions: "Why did the American people turn on the Democratic Party?" and "Did the Democratic Party fail the American people?" They point out that the American people "undoubtedly lost confidence" in the Democratic Party which they had supported previously because they thought it had lifted them "from the ruts of 1932" and provided social reforms. In 1952, "The American people remembered the alliance of reactionaries in the Democratic Party with the Republican Old Guard which thwarted the promise to remove the hated Taft-Hartley Labor Act and thwarted the promise for FEPC legislation, which after 4 years still receives no action."

When the vote came in, "great disillusionment set in among the rank and file in the trade union movement," they report. "They couldn't understand why the trade union leaders didn't exercise their independent role as spokesman for labor and formulate an independent policy."

"IT IS UP TO LABOR"

Local 600 under their leadership "went all out in the State of Michigan for the Democratic Party candidates" in line with CIO and PAC policy. But the majority of the voters went in the opposite direction. "Thus, it is mandatory that we in labor review our mistakes and from this analysis form a new policy and chart a new course in conformity with the changed conditions."

The election of Gen. Eisenhower and the placing in power of the Republicans is "a most serious setback for the great mass of the American people."

It is up to labor to head the fight against reaction. "Labor inherits a Leadership responsibility. Labor must take the initiative. Labor will point the way," they say. "The American people will look to the trade unions for leadership in the period before us. We must resist any attempt on the part of the new administration to take away the gains made over the past 20 years."

"NEW THIRD PARTY"

To this end, "we take the initiative and call for unity of all labor into one united fighting body, to give hope, courage and leadership to the common people; to guarantee that peace shall be resolved, that additional social progress shall be made," and that all anti-labor and witch-hunt laws shall be wiped from the statute books.

"It is our considered opinion that if the present two-party system does not develop a party free from reactionaries and one that will by policy and action fulfill the aspirations of the American people," they conclude, **"that the resolution adopted at past UAW conventions calling for the formation of a new third party, representing farmers, labor and professionals and their Democratic and Republican allies, should be dusted off and implemented in accordance with action already taken by the Local 600 general council."**

While this proposal for a new party has a conditional attachment, the important thing is that it points toward a real way out for American labor. There can be little doubt that if the labor movement practices the "honest self-criticism" which the Ford local leaders advocate and seriously considers the consequences of its previous political policy, such analysis will show the need for a labor party now.

U.S. Toll Rises

American casualties rose 275 during the week of Eisenhower's trip to Korea. The toll now stands at 127,658.

LOS ANGELES

New Year's Eve Ball Melodrama "Oleo"

—Refreshments & Dancing—

Wed., Dec. 31, 8:30 P.M.

Forum Hall
1702 E. Fourth Street

Donation $1.00

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Socialist Forum

"World in Crisis 1953"
A Series of 6 Lectures

(2) "Bevanism — Is England Facing a New Revolution?" — Growth of the left wing in the British Labor Movement.

Speaker:
Frank Roberts

Sun., Dec. 21, 7 P.M.
734 So. Wabash

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

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Cheap Window-Dressing

By the simple and cheap gesture of naming an AFL official to the purely decorative post of Secretary of Labor in his cabinet, Republican President-elect Eisenhower already has the top bureaucrats in both the AFL and CIO purring like kittens over a saucer of cream. And Senator Taft's attack on Eisenhower's appointment of Martin Durkin, AFL Plumbers Union president, to head the U.S. Dept. of Labor, has given the union tops further "proof" that the General's move is a great boon to the working man and a token of friendship to labor.

Thus, the **AFL News-Reporter,** official weekly of the American Federation of Labor, on Dec. 5 called Durkin's appointment a "master-stroke" and evidence that "Eisenhower has recognized the fact that his administration must represent all the people, not merely those who supported him in the election campaign." Eisenhower's "wisdom" and Taft's "blindness" on this point, claim the **News-Reporter** editors, "illustrates why the former was elected President and the latter remains a bridesmaid."

The CIO leaders, if a bit more restrained in their expressions of delight, nevertheless voice similar sentiments. CIO Executive Vice Pres. Allan S. Haywood said of Durkin's appointment that "what is not good for Taft is usually good for us" and Thomas Jones, CIO Communications Workers vice president, assailed as a "raw piece of effrontery" Taft's attack on the naming of Durkin. The CIO officials sent Durkin their "warm" congratulations and pledge of "wholehearted support."

The single test for any "friend of labor," according to their line of argument, is whether or not he accepts Taft's advice and policies. If a reactionary like Eisenhower, completely at the beck and call of the biggest capitalist interests, does something Taft doesn't like, that's supposed to prove the General is the man labor's been looking for.

But not everyone in the unions, including the AFL, is completely taken in by the Durkin appointment. The lower down we go in the hierarchy, and the closer to the local ranks, the less enthusiasm we find. For instance, the **Cleveland Citizen,** publication of the Cleveland Federation of Labor, calls the pitch with far more accuracy than the AFL moguls in Washington.

"But don't ever fool yourself into thinking," says the **Citizen** editorially on Dec. 5, "that even though a leader in the American Federation of Labor has been appointed to the top post in the Labor Department that this cabinet is going to be 'liberal' in any sense of the word. It is a big business, conservative, hard-headed and perhaps high-handed group that certainly will never find itself accused of bending over backward to 'please' labor. Martin Durkin. . . is going to have his hands full to even be heard, let alone to make his influence felt in the final decisions."

The appointment of Durkin as labor window-dressing for the Big Business cabinet of Eisenhower, which the labor leaders hail as a mark of esteem, is in reality a gesture of contempt for them. It indicates how cheaply Eisenhower thinks they can be bought off. A cabinet post — or even two — is small enough price to pay to have the labor leaders licking the Republican administration's boots and painting up Eisenhower as a "friend of labor" after all.

Needed -- An Honest Index

Despite the cost-of-living escalator clause in their contract, the General Motors workers are feeling the economic pinch more and more. The automatic wage increases provided for in the contract just don't seem to keep their incomes abreast of real living costs. Is something wrong with the principle of the escalator clause as such or does the particular clause Walter Reuther put in the contract need strengthening? That's the question the GM workers are asking themselves.

Tony O'Brien, president of Flint Chevrolet Local 659, CIO United Auto Workers, writes in the local's paper **The Searchlight** on this question. We are glad to note that he does not propose to take a step backward and do away with the escalator clause. Instead, he observes the inadequacies of the clause adopted in the GM contract and proposes to eliminate those shortcomings.

A major flaw in the GM contract, as **The Militant** pointed out when it was signed, is that its escalator clause is based on a doctored and improperly devised cost-of-living index. Even if the government's cost-of-living index adequately showed the rise in prices and rents — which it doesn't — it leaves out completely the biggest single factor in rising living costs since the Korean war started — taxes.

President O'Brien of Chevrolet Local 659 correctly insists that "taxes should be included in the cost-of-living.". They constitute a major part of the rise in living expenses for the average worker — taking about 30 cents an hour more from the pay envelopes than before the Korean war.

The best way to ensure that the factor of taxes is included in the living-cost index used for purposes of the union contract is to base the contract on a correct index. The government index is manipulated in the interests of the employers. Labor needs an honest index. The organizations of workers, farmers and consumers, cooperating together, might provide an agency for the securing of this vital economic data on which union contracts could be based.

We have insisted for many years that the escalator clause, rightly formulated and with the proper safeguards, is the most effective immediate means for protecting the workers from the worst consequences of inflation. The GM experience does not alter our views on this matter, but rather, as Tony O'Brien indicates, merely emphasizes the need for the right kind of fortified clause.

The "Times" Points the Wrong Way

America's leading capitalist newspaper **The New York Times** is trying to take full advantage for its own reactionary aims of Stalin's frame-up trial and purge in Czechoslovakia.

The **Times** raises its hands in mock horror at the "blood-drenched Communist juggernaut, which has crushed millions under its wheels in many lands." We say **mock** horror because the **Times** has never displayed similar horror over the fire-bombs poured on civilians by the Allied powers in World War II, the atomic bombing of populous Hiroshima and Nagasaki, or the projected slaughter of tens of millions in the new world war now being prepared by Big Business and its political agents. The **Times** supports the imperialist juggernauts now rolling over the colonial peoples in Indo-China, Malaya, Kenya, North Africa, etc. And it of course supports Truman's "police action" which has decimated Korea.

The **Times** avers that "Communism is shedding its last mask and stands revealed for what it is — the harbinger of a new barbarism." Is there danger of a new barbarism? If so, does the danger arise from "communism"? This is an important question, so important in fact that the fate of civilization rests on finding the correct answer.

Leon Trotsky, co-founder with Lenin of the Soviet Union, called attention many times, before he was killed by an agent of Stalin, to the reactionary character of Stalinism. He analyzed Stalinism as a formation in the first workers' state symmetrical to the fascism that has appeared since the Twenties in capitalist countries, particularly Germany.

The first to call attention to Stalinism, Leon Trotsky was also the first to probe into its causes. He proved that these lie in the backward character of Russia and in the pressure exerted on the Soviet Union by world capitalism. The war of intervention, in which American capitalism participated, did much to set the stage for Stalin's appearance. The years of blockade of the Soviet Union, in which American capitalism participated, helped Stalin consolidate his seizure of power. In addition to this, Trotsky demonstrated that Stalinism is the harbinger of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. Thus, in the final analysis, Stalinism, by origin, ideology and trend is rooted in capitalism — the system defended by the **Times.**

We must agree on one point with our Big Business opponents — the world is endangered by a new barbarism. But there the agreement ends. The source of that danger lies in the capitalist system itself, its rotting economy, its devastating depressions and war, its drive against democracy and freedom of thought. Replace this outmoded system by socialism, and the danger of a new barbarism will at once be removed. And the downfall of capitalism will also assure the downfall of its reactionary secondary formations, including the Kremlin police regime.

Conditions that Molded an African Leader

By William de Silva and T. B. Subasinghe

(This concludes the article begun in the last issue of **The Militant** about Jomo Kenyatta, one of the outstanding leaders of the people in Kenya, Africa. In the current British terror drive against the Kenyans, Kenyatta was arrested and is now being tried on "suspicion" of heading an alleged organization of terrorists. He has pleaded "not guilty." Ed.)

* * *

Another conference which we attended with Jomo Kenyatta was the Empire and Peace Conference held in Euston Hall, London, in 1938. Pandit Jawaharla Nehru, then on a visit to London, presided. The organizers of the conference were mainly Communists who were then in the "democratic camp against fascism." Communists looked upon Nehru as a fellow traveller at the time.

Many of the pro-Communist speakers took a compromising attitude towards British imperialism in the then prevailing world context. The position of Nehru himself was not clear. The Sama Samaja delegates and the African delegates banded together and insisted on the main resolution, embodying a categorically anti-imperialist attitude.

Effectively did Kenyatta describe British rule in Africa, to prove that British democracy and fascism were qualitatively the same so far as the subject people were concerned. He said, **"We Africans do not possess the Harrow and Cambridge education of our distinguished chairman. We do not have the metaphysical background of some of our Indian delegates who see a subtle distinction between the oppression of the Pukka Sahib and the oppression of the Nazi storm trooper. We know of only one form of national oppression. There cannot be any compromise between oppression and freedom of expression and liberty. And the tree of liberty must be watered by the blood of man."**

DID NOT LOSE HEART

War came in September 1939. Political work became more difficult. Padmore, Kenyatta and the rest of the Africans did not, however, lose heart. Despite the close watch on them by the authorities, they maintained contact with their respective countries. The 1942 struggle in India and the subsequent uprising in Burma gave an added impetus to their activities. Asiatic colonials also drew nearer to them.

Kenyatta participated in all the activities of Indians in London in behalf of the Indian struggle. Some of us Ceylonese organized a meeting to condemn the Soulbury Commission report. Both Kenyatta and Padmore spoke at the meeting, pointing out the changed tactics of British imperialism in shifting from direct rule to indirect rule. Shortly after the end of the war, an organizing committee of anti-imperialist colonial subjects in Great Britain, summoned the Subject Peoples' Conference. Kenyatta was one of the members of this committee.

Some of the others were Maung Ohn, presently Ambassador of Burma in the Soviet Union; Kwame Nkrumah, who, on the crest of a wave of mass revolt in Gold Coast in 1948, became the Chief Minister under a reformed constitution, much to the disappointment of his more militant associates; Wallace Johnson, a militant trade unionist from Sierra Leone, who came over to England after serving a long prison sentence in his country; Iqbal Singh, a well-known Indian writer; and, of course, George Padmore.

The main purpose of the organization was to bring together the politically conscious colonials in Britain and to put across the case for colonial self-determination to the British working-class movement.

WAR AWAKENED YOUTH

There was an influx of students from African colonies at the end of the war. The war in general and the events in Asia in particular had awakened this youth. Soon Padmore, Kenyatta and Mekkonnen (another Negro intellectual) had the following of students. The idea of a Pan-African federation emanated from these three and the idea caught on. The Pan-African Federation was born in October 1945 at a conference held in Manchester. The Kenya African Union, the left wing of which Kenyatta leads, is affiliated to the Federation. The Federation coordinates all the national liberation movements of the African and West Indian colonies.

NOT A TERRORIST

British propagandists desire to create the impression that the Kenya African Union and Kenyatta are terroristic. The charge invariably follows any mass struggle by the colonial slaves. There have been acts of terrorism by the Mau Mau. But what we are not told is the fact that the tribal masses are in revolt not against the white man as such, but against imperialist rule, which in Kenya is the white man's rule. It will not be surprising if Kenyatta is trying to give some direction to the revolt. That does not make him a terrorist.

One has only to know the character of British rule in Kenya to realize how bitter the masses feel about it. Kenyatta himself describes and offers a survey of the problems in his "Kenya, the Land of Conflict." There are British writers who express great apprehensions about the situation. The British have tried to turn the country into a paradise for themselves.

Oliver Lyttleton, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, himself says that the British are there to stay. "Kenya has the greatest proportion amongst its inhabitants of ex-soldiers, generals, colonels, majors, of any country in the world. It contains a goodly number of names in **Burke's Peerage** and some quite terrific specimens in the flesh." It is the land of pukka sahibs. The Kikiyu and other African tribes were squeezed out to make room for the white settlers who are still pouring into the country. Most of the fertile and best lands of the Kikiyu are owned by settlers. Yet 90% of the African population must live on agriculture.

CONDITIONS IN KENYA

Wages are low for African labor, ranging from 72 cents to $1.80 a month. The Labor Ordinance provides in detail for the punishment of deserters, etc., but makes no provision for minimum wages, balanced diet, housing conditions or compensation for injuries. African families are allowed to settle as squatters on European farms, on condition that each member does 240 days work in the year for the owner.

Nearly all the children of school-going age are working at low wages for Europeans. There are 49 schools with about 5,500 students in the whole colony. Six secondary schools cater to the needs of Africans. The whole African population suffers from malnutrition. Malaria, sleeping sickness, venereal diseases and internal disorders are endemic.

Pass laws compel every African to carry a certificate or Kipande on his person. Every one is finger-printed. It is an indirect device of controlling wages and labor. There is no freedom of speech, assembly or of the press. Africans are denied adequate representation on the Legislative Council.

BRING HOME NEW VIEWS

Many Kenya Africans have been abroad as servicemen during the war. They have seen and heard of things happening in the other parts of the world. These men have no doubt spread their knowledge amongst their fellow tribesmen. And with the conditions described above is it any wonder that the people have resorted to direct action? It is the knowledge of the maturing situation that made Kenyatta return to his homeland a few years ago.

Kenyatta has been arrested. There is the likelihood of the Kenya African Union itself being proscribed, despite the fact that it is essentially a reformist organization. Let us hope that the more militant elements from whom Kenyatta drew strength, can carry on, despite overwhelming odds. We must not forget the fact that Kenya was fast becoming a military base of the British in Africa.

Britain has already lost two empires. She lost America in the 18th Century. She was compelled to retreat from a greater part of her Asiatic empire in the Mid-Twentieth Century. Africa was to be her third, and most glorious empire. Developments from South Africa to the Sudan and from West Africa to East Africa, however, indicate that British aspirations in Africa may not be fulfilled.

Imperialism in Kenya

A British official and a native policeman handcuff an African accused of membership in Mau Mau secret organization. Many Africans have been killed allegedly "resisting arrest." Thousands of African men, women and children have been imprisoned in barbed-wire enclosures. The tiny British minority in Kenya, which seized the good land from the natives, is trying to destroy all opposition, no matter how moderate, under guise of suppressing the Mau Mau.

WHY STALIN COOKED UP 'TROTSKYISM' CHARGE IN PRAGUE FRAME-UP TRIAL

By John G. Wright

The charge of "Trotskyism" overshadowed all the other charges, including "Zionism" and "Titoism," during the Slansky frame-up trial. The prominence assigned to "Trotskyism" during the Prague trial was second only to the role this same charge played in the original Moscow frame-ups during the Thirties, where the principal defendants in absentia were Leon Trotsky and his son, Leon Sedov.

The most prominent figures at the Prague frame-up, Nov. 20-27, 1952, "confessed" to having been "Trotskyites." The chief figure in the trial, Slansky, former General Secretary of the Czech CP, "told about his Trotskyite activity before World War II," it is stated in the summary of the "court proceedings" published by the Cominform weekly, **For a Lasting Peace,** etc., on Nov. 28.

This was one of the few points deemed important enough by the prosecution to back by "documentary evidence." The Czech Prosecutor "submitted to the court documents testifying" to Slansky's purely fictional Trotskyist past. These "documents" allegedly consisted of old Czech police records.

Bendrich Geminder, former head of the Czech International Department, is characterized by the Cominform weekly as "Slansky's immediate accomplice, a hardened Trotskyite too."

Even Clementis, former Foreign Minister, against whom the principal charge was "bourgeois nationalism" was "guilty" of "Trotskyite activity." "Geminder, Slansky and Clementis formed a Trotskyite group in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs," says the Cominform paper.

PREPARED LONG AGO

The emphasis on "Trotskyism" is unmistakable, all-pervasive. This was not a sudden decision, but made long in advance of the trial. Slansky was arrested on Nov. 27, 1951. On the next day, the Czech Minister of National Security, Ladislav Kopriva made a public speech, declaring that there was nothing "exceptional" about the "conspiratorial activities" of Slansky and the other arrested Czech leaders. Kopriva went on to draw a direct analogy " with the subversive activity of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Bukharin, Rykov and others." **(Rude Pravo,** Nov. 28, 1951.)

The monstrous Moscow frame-ups were designed by Stalin to destroy every vestige of opposition inside the Soviet Union. "Trotskyism" was the general label he then employed. Stalin did this for two reasons.

First, because the opposition led by Leon Trotsky was, as it has remained, the most consistent and irreconcilable political opposition to Stalinism. It originated in Moscow in 1923 around the struggle for workers' democracy and against bureaucratism. Trotsky favored stepping up the rate of industrialization and inaugurating planned economy.

This struggle, as it unfolded over the years, has involved every basic issue of revolutionary socialism, with Trotskyism, the genuine Marxism of our time, coinciding with and fully expressing the needs of workers, inside the Soviet Union and throughout the world.

Anti-Stalinist working class opposition spontaneously tends to develop in the direction of Trotskyism, all the more so when the objective conditions dictate revolutionary developments. Moreover, time and again, the events have proved the Trotskyist line correct as against the Stalinist course. This brings us to the second reason for Stalin's frame-ups of Trotskyism.

WHY STALIN USES FRAME-UPS

Unable to find even a plausible answer to the general views of Trotskyism and the specific proposals advanced by it, mortally afraid of Trotsky's systematic exposures of all the crimes and betrayal of the Kremlin, Stalin resorted to frame-ups as the only means of coping with Trotskyism. The Moscow frame-ups were staged above all for the purpose of denying that Trotskyism is a legitimate tendency inside the world working class and of propagating the abysmal falsehood that Trotskyists are only "paid agents," "imperialist spies," "wreckers" and the like.

The last of the public Moscow frame-ups was held almost a decade and a half ago. August 1952 marked the twelfth anniversary of Trotsky's murder in Mexico at the hands of Stalin's hired killer. Yet the physical elimination of Trotsky has not sufficed. Stalin's fear of Trotskyism remains as acute as ever. Over and over again Stalin finds it necessary to try to discredit and destroy this revolutionary system of ideas.

FATE OF FIVE

This ever-recurring need to defame Trotskyism, to draw a line of blood between the Stalinist rank-and-file and the Trotskyist movement, is a striking expression of the unfolding international crisis of Stalinism.

The depth of this crisis in the countries of Eastern Europe is illustrated by the fate that has befallen five out of the six General Secretaries of these Stalinist parties in the last few years. Three of them have been executed: Traicho Kostov in the Bulgarian frame-up; Koje Xoxe in Albania; and now Rudolf Slansky in Prague. The Rumanian Secretary Patrascanu died in prison. Wladislaw Gomulka, General Secretary of the Polish CP, is in prison awaiting trial. The only one still in office is Matyas Rakosi of Hungary.

The crisis of the Stalinist parties is by no means limited to Eastern Europe. One of the charges recently levelled against French CP leader Marty was his alleged treatment of Trotskyists as a tendency within the labor movement, and not as paid agents, spies, etc.

Within this context it is not hard to understand why Stalin has found it necessary to so sharply revive the frame-up of Trotskyism, spicing it, for good measure, with anti-Semitism.

Final Vote Listed For SWP in N. Y.

The Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket in New York state received 2,212 votes according to the official count; the SWP candidate for U.S. Senator 4,263 votes. The Socialist Party got 2,664 and 3,382 votes for the same offices respectively. The Socialist Labor Party 1,560 and 2,451 votes. The American Labor Party (New York affiliate of the Progressive Party) received 64,211 votes for its presidential candidate and 104,702 votes for its candidate for U.S. Senator.

World Events

By Charles Hanley

SYNGMAN RHEE, dictator of South Korea, is opposed — officially — to the use of Japanese troops in Korea. This is because of the hatred of imperialist Japan among the Korean people who fought for decades to win their freedom from the Japanese colonial despots. But Rhee's unofficial views about the Mikado are somewhat different, according to Henry S. Hayward, Chief Far Eastern correspondent of the **Christian Science Monitor.** The puppet head of the South Korean government thinks relations with Japan can be greatly improved if Japanese officials will make some offer of friendship, "even if they don't mean it." As long as the gesture is public, says Hayward, it does not have to be true.

* * *

OWEN LATTIMORE, Far Eastern expert who has been under fire from the McCarthyite witch-hunters as an alleged Communist but who has done his best to prove that he is really concerned about working out the best long-range policies in foreign affairs for capitalist America, calls attention in **The Nation** (Dec. 6) to the new railway links projected between the Soviet Union and China. A line from the Trans-Siberian railway to Ulan-Bator, capital of Outer Mongolia, has already been built while the Chinese are pushing a railroad into Kansu and on across Sinkiang to link up with the Russian rail system in Central Asia. Lattimore believes that Acheson is overlooking the significance of the attachment of Russia and China through rail communication and industrial development in the northern frontier areas. The consequences of that attachment, Lattimore thinks, "are going to be not less momentous than were those of the great railway-building era that attached the Pacific coast of the United States to the Atlantic coast."

* * *

"SOCIALIST OUTLOOK," which began as a monthly publication of socialist-minded members of the British Labor party four years ago, has now become a weekly. The paper began when members of the Labor Party became aroused over the complacency of the leadership toward the Tory threat and their failure to carry through the program of nationalization of industry on which they were elected. Restating their faith in socialism and opposition to capitalism, the editors declare: "We have seen much progress in the last four years. We shall see much more. The Labor Party has a working class membership and workers want socialism. In the long run, and despite all false leaders, that desire must triumph in the party. 'Lead with the Left and Beat the Tories!' That is the message of this first number of the weekly **Socialist Outlook."**

* * *

THE YUGOSLAV "Review of International Affairs" published an article in the Nov. issue, considered an "interesting view" by its editors, recounting the fate of members of the first Soviet government. The author, Wolfgang Leonhard, stresses that most of them were killed or purged and that only Stalin survived, "the very man whom Lenin trusted the least." The article reports Lenin's testimony calling for the removal of Stalin and gives prominent place to the fate of Leon Trotsky who was murdered by an agent of Stalin in 1940. This is all familiar to old-time readers of **The Militant,** but is somewhat of a departure for the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party, who up to 1948 were still hoodwinked by the Stalinist frame-up system. Their own experiences showed them how reactionary Stalinism is. The article shows that the truth about Stalin's real role in the Soviet Union is making its way in Yugoslavia.

* * *

THE FRENCH Communist Party stripped Andre Marty, hero of the Black Sea mutiny of 1919, and Charles Tillon, partisan organizer in World War II, of all official functions in the party Dec. 7 and prepared to expel Marty. Both ex-leaders have refused to "confess" publicly the "errors" and "deviations" they were accused of. Tillon and Marty were considered especially popular among the most militant sections of the party.

* * *

A JAPANESE writer, Wataru Kaji, charged he had been kidnapped, beaten and held prisoner a year by American espionage agents. U.S. Army officials denied the story, but Foreign Minister Katsuo Okazaki was hooted in the Diet when said he believed Kaji's story "could never have happened."

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVI — MONDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1952 — NUMBER 50

The Negro Struggle

Get Out of Africa

By Jean Blake

A worried white reader of the Oklahoma **Black Dispatch** wrote a letter to Editor Roscoe Dunjee questioning the wisdom of the action taken by the Oklahoma Conference of NAACP Branches which in its recent resolutions adopted at Shawnee demanded that the white man get out of Africa.

The letter was answered in a lengthy editorial in the **Dispatch,** but deserves wider notice because many white workers are concerned and confused about what's going on in Africa. They see what looks like a line-up of black against white all over that continent, and they feel uneasy about the questions: (1) which side is right? (2) which side is stronger? (3) where do we stand in the fight?

The moral question was what bothered the writer of the letter to **The Dispatch.** He wrote:

". . . I believe your demands of white people are going to do more harm than good. You are now demanding what the white people in the South are doing. I am a white person but my sympathy goes out to you because I am a Jew and belong to a minority group. You are asking the white people to leave Africa. This would be like asking the colored people to leave here."

Editor Dunjee replied:

"The white man shot and blasted his way into Africa where he immediately appropriated the land, drove the Negro into segregated districts and forced his helpless victim to become his slave. In America, despite the guarantees of the constitution, the black man who was forcibly brought here as a chattel, is still deprived of many of the rights of citizenry. In each instance — Africa and America — the white man acted as a free man, and the Negro as the slave."

Editor Dunjee points out that a better analogy to the demand that the white man get out of Africa is the Indians demanding that the white man get out of India, and the same demand by the Chinese, the Malayans "and other suppressed units of the Orient and the South Pacific."

Referring to the long history of struggle against anti-Semitism, he adds: "We admire the Jew for the demand he has always made, under all conditions, for human equality," and urges the letter writer to adopt what amounts to an internationalist view, and to recognize that moral right rests with the Africans "when they seek to reclaim their raw materials, their labor and human dignity."

The same advice could be given to all white workers not sure which side they are on.

And along with that advice might go another observation. On a world scale white men may be stronger in terms of guns and atom bombs and industrial development, but they are in a minority as whites. Colored peoples make up the majority of the world's population.

It is not to rule the world that the colored peoples are struggling, but to rid themselves of oppression. In that struggle white workers have a common interest. The only peaceful solution for the problem of both white and colored workers all over the world is a common struggle to abolish the capitalist system which keeps both subordinate, and to establish a social order which does not require profit-making by a minority of world rulers in order to function.

A Novelist Speaks Out

By Fred Hart

Nelson Algren, author of "The Man with the Golden Arm" and winner of the National Book Award, was asked for an article on the current state of writing by the **Chicago Daily News.** The article must have been quite a jolt to the editor for he makes doubly clear that the views are Mr. Algren's not the paper's.

Algren writes, " . . .we live today in a laboratory of human suffering as vast and terrible as that in which Dickens and Dostoevsky wrote. The only real difference being that the England of Dickens and the Russia of Dostoevsky could not afford the soundscreens and smokescreens with which we so ingenuously conceal our true conditions from ourselves."

"So accustomed have we become to the testimony of the photo-weeklies backed by witnesses from radio and TV, establishing us as the happiest, healthiest, sanest, wealthiest, most inventive, fun-loving and tolerant folk yet to grace the earth of man, that we tend to forget that these are bought-and-paid-for witnesses and all their testimony perjured."

Not in war-devastated Europe or poverty-stricken Asia and Africa are "faces debauched by sheer uselessness" to be encountered but here in the rich U.S. "Here on the back streets and boulevards of New York and Chicago and Los Angeles, unused, unusable and useless faces, so purposeless yet so smug, harassed or half-dehumanized, so self-satisfied yet somehow so abject — for complacency struggles strangely there with guilt. Faces of the American Century, full of such an immense irresponsibility toward themselves."

To this "great American disease" Algren in part ascribes "the fact that we lead the world today in incidence of insanity, criminality, alcoholism, narcoticism, cancer, homicide and perversion in sex as well as in perversion just for the pure hell of the thing."

Recalling Nobel prize winner William Faulkner's statement that "the young man or woman writing today has forgotten the problems of the heart in conflict with itself," Algren adds:

"I purely doubt that the young man or woman writing today has forgotten a thing. More likely he's simply so intimidated by our souped-up drive toward conformity that he declines any risk which might conceivably imperil his livelihood.

"For how can he write of the heart and yet conform? There are no Broyles bills (a witch-hunting bill proposed in Illinois — Ed.) for the heart. Its loyalty cannot be bounded by precinct or ward. The heart has but one nationality and that is humanity's.

"Yet precisely as the Russians drive blindly to penalize all independence of action and thought, our own specialists press the stethescope of constituted authority to the American breast in hope of catching the faint murmur of dissent."

Notes from the News

STATE TAXES have increased an average of 2½ times what they were before World War II. Each of the 48 states has a gasoline tax; 31 have a sales tax; 30 have a personal income tax; some states even have a tax on hotel rooms.

* * *

SIGN OF THE TIMES reported to a meeting of the American Dental Association in New York was a marked increase in bruxism. Bruxism is an unconscious side-to-side gnashing and grinding of the jaws. Dr. Shanahan, who spoke on the subject, said it was especially noticeable among students and that psychiatrists ascribe it to the stress of modern life, aggravated by anxieties generated by the Korean war and uncertain world conditions.

* * *

FLORIDA BOMBINGS have been investigated by a federal grand jury in Miami. Four indictments were returned in connection with the repeated bombings of Carver Village, Negro-occupied apartments adjoining a white project. It was understood that the indictments did not deal with those directly responsible for the bombings. The jury did not go into the bombing last Christmas in Mims, Florida, which resulted in the deaths of Harry T. Moore, NAACP leader, and his wife, Harriet.

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OVERALL PRICES received by farmers for their products in November were 8% less than a year ago, according to the Department of Agriculture.

* * *

TRUMAN'S use of the Taft-Hartley act against the strike of CIO Steelworkers at the Dunkirk, N. Y., plant of the American Locomotive Co. was the tenth time he has invoked the slave labor law.

* * *

VICTOR RIESEL, syndicated Hearst paper columnist and graduate of the social-democratic **New Leader,** is described as "this flea on the body of Labor," by **Labor's Daily.** The article continues: "All of the back-biting, oleaginous, deceitful qualities which Charles Dickens masterfully summed up in the character of Uriah Heep belong to Victor Riesel."

LABOR'S DAILY, an eight-page tabloid sponsored by the International Typographical Union, appears five times a week. Subscription rates: one month, $1; 6 months, $5; a year, $8. Address is: **Labor's Daily,** P.O. Box 6177, Station A, Charleston 2, West Virginia.

* * *

BAMBOOZLING the public has reached truly American heights in the $100,000,000-a-year "miracle deodorant" chlorophyll products industry. Chlorophyll isn't even a deodorant. Even if it were there isn't enough of it in the "chlorophyll" toothpastes, pills, etc., to make any difference.

* * *

YOU'VE READ of employees caught stealing from a bank; here's one where the bank was caught stealing from its employes. The State National Bank of Decatur, Alabama, was found guilty of robbing workers in its three branches by falsifying records of hours worked for the past two years. The bank pleaded nolo contendere and was fined $1,000 on condition it pay the workers $3,712.37 in back wages.

* * *

KOREA COURT MARTIALS of U.S. soldiers total 4,000 long (one to 30 years) sentences of imprisonment at hard labor for the 25 months since the "police action" began.

* * *

NEGRO STUDENTS were assigned to a cotton-picking scene in a play scheduled as part of the celebration of the 50th anniversary of Aliceville, Alabama. They refused. The Jim Crow school committee is investigating the Negro high school's music teacher on the ground that she encouraged the students to refuse. If the committee finds her guilty she will be fired for "insubordination." Meanwhile her school principal has advised her to leave town.

* * *

SHADES OF DRED SCOTT. A federal judge in Nashville upheld the city's segregation policy on the municipal golf links declaring: "Nature has produced white birds, black birds, blue birds and red birds, and they do not roost on the same limb or use the same nest." This judge is weak on bird lore but strong on Jim Crow.

BRIDGES DEFENSE URGED IN MINNEAPOLIS MEETING

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 4 — J. R. Robertson, vice-president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, spoke at a Bridges' Defense Committee rally here tonight at CIO Hall. He substituted for Harry Bridges, ILWU president, who was scheduled to speak, but was unable to be present.

Robertson, Bridges and Schmidt, officers of the longshoremen's union, have been convicted of "conspiracy." They are appealing their cases.

OMITS '41 TRIAL

Robertson condemned the present witch hunt against labor. He attacked the Smith Act that is now being used against the "progressive and radicals" in the labor movement. **However, while speaking in the very city where the Smith Act was employed for the first time, in the case of the 18 CIO-544 leaders and leaders of the Socialist Workers Party, he pointedly omitted any reference to the Minneapolis trial of 1941.**

Again, in referring to the great San Francisco general strike of 1934, he said nothing about the famous Minneapolis general drivers' strikes of 1934.

Robertson correctly asserted that the government is presently persecuting those unions and their leaders who refuse to subscribe 100 percent to the policies of the U.S. State Dept., and that victimization of all unions is sure to follow unless the labor movement is aroused to the danger and joins forces with the present victims to stop the government offensive.

Ernest de Maio, international representative of the United Electrical Workers (ind.), speaking in behalf of Harold Ward, frame-up victim in the International Harvester strike at Chicago, announced the good news that Ward had just been acquitted.

Minn. SWP Leader Defends Bridges

MINNEAPOLIS, Dec. 4 — V. R. Dunne, Minnesota organizer for the Socialist Workers Party, in a public statement, condemned the government attack against Harry Bridges and his co-defendants, pledged the support of the Socialist Workers Party to the victimized unionists and urged all workers and liberals to come to the defense of Bridges in his fight to win his freedom.

Final N. J. Vote Listed for SWP

In New Jersey the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket received 3,850 votes; the SWP candidate for U.S. Senator 5,088 votes in the official count. The Progressive Party received 5,589 and 7,195 votes for the same posts respectively; the Socialist Labor Party 5,815 and 1,165 votes. The Socialist Party, which ran no senatorial candidate, polled 8,593 votes for its presidential ticket. The SWP candidate for Congress from the 11th District received 1,750 votes.

Letters from Readers

Says Labor Will Have to Fight Harder Now

Editor:

The best understanding I could get of the reaction of my fellow workers to the election was that "We will have to fight harder now." They did not seem frightened or discouraged by results except for some who spend quite a bit of time around the union office. Those who stick around the union office and listen to the staff members seemed to feel like the end of the world must be near.

I have heard quite a bit of talk about Eisenhower's promise to end the war. From the time he was elected until now the workers who say much about Eisenhower resent and call a lie his promise to end the war. The workers who resent this are often those who are anti-Truman too.

For a short while just before the election I seemed to be having some success developing labor party sympathy by saying that "Our labor leaders should quit trying to suck in with the professional politicians and nominate people labor wants, not the professional politicians."

However, now I run into the feeling, "They will sell out too — if you and I had a chance to get their money we would do the same thing."

I have learned that quite a few workers were favorably impressed by Eisenhower's appointment of a labor leader to the position of Secretary of Labor. I tried telling them, without much success, that Eisenhower's selection of a labor man only means that Eisenhower intends to use shrewder, less rough tactics in fighting labor than Taft and is sure his appointee will not cross him. The better responses ran, "We'll wait and see." The best, maybe, was, "Labor is so strong now that Ike had to put in a labor man."

N. D.
St. Louis

Letter From Korea Tells About Killing Prisoners of War

14 metro ulc.

Editor:

Here are some interesting excerpts from a letter from a buddy of mine. The war prisoners in question are reputed to be all "good" pro-American PWs:

The prison camp of the 3rd and 14th field hospitals was right near my outfit in South Korea. Back in the summer of '51 they were preparing to repel a rumored attempt by guerrillas to free the prisoners in connection with some Communist holiday. Sure enough, the night of Aug. 14, 1951, we heard shouting and rifle fire from the PW compounds.

The next day I found out what happened there. No guerrillas. The PWs, in their tents, were singing loudly in celebration of V-J Day. UN troops started taking potshots to cool 'em off. The upshot was two reds dead and about a dozen wounded, including some women prisoners. Some of the GIs suspect the ROK soldiers of getting in a few shots at the GI barracks too; they said some tracers came pretty close and had our boys hitting the dirt.

. . . I don't believe the red PWs refuse to be sent home or that they'll be shot if they do. It wouldn't make sense. The North Koreans need all those men to rebuild their army and the Chinese could parade them up and down red China as "heroes" who survived UN "atrocities." Maybe they'll do some exaggerating or a snow-job, but if half what comes out of Koje-do is true, the straight truth would be damning enough.

What kind of idiot could believe that PWs would rather stay in a lousy hole of a prison camp taking a chance on being shot or bayoneted by "gook"-hating Americans than go back home to their own people?

They hate the Americans more likely because they're kept from going back to their people and by now 'way over a thousand, I'll bet, have been killed or wounded by our boys. And they feel contempt for us because they know they whipped the pants off us in '50 and because we use such stupid lies to keep them from going home. . . (the PWs) have a lot more morale and self-confidence. Anyone could sense it easily. Probably because they know they've made international headlines and made monkeys out of the UN when their buddies captured the two big brass on Koje. If there ever were any real anti-Communists among them, we've probably driven them back into the arms of the reds.

When do we get our PWs back? Seems like they're the forgotten men. . . From what I hear, the army is setting up a re-indoctrination schedule to "brainwash" our PWs, when and if they are exchanged. That's one problem the Chinese and Koreans won't have. We've given THEIR PWs the best propaganda for their side they could have. . .

C. H.
Philadelphia

Approves 'Militant' Headlines on Korea

Editor:

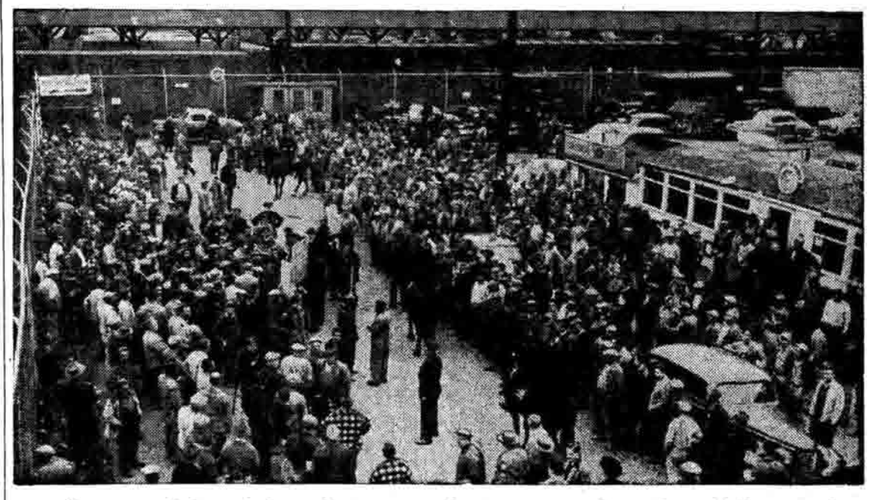
May I praise the recent headlines of **The Militant** dealing with Korea? They not only report facts concealed by the capitalist press but also evoke sympathy from many people seeing the paper for the first time.

The best way to counter the effects of the red scare is by straight-forward headlines that obviously tell the truth to a person seeing **The Militant** the first time. I recognize this is a big order for our editorial staff, but they seem to be dishing it out pretty regularly.

This perserverance will be repaid, I'm sure, by the interest of **Militant** supporters in selling the paper door to door, at meetings and forums, etc.

L. C.
Akron

The Threat to Ryan's Empire



Current revelations of tie-ups between waterfront gangsters and stevedore and ship companies on the New York waterfront recall the numerous revolts of longshoremen against gangster-rule of their union. Above is a strike scene on a Staten Island pier in Nov. 1941 during a coast-wide walkout of members of the AFL International Longshoremen's Association who balked against a sell-out contract ILA President-Dictator Joseph Ryan tried to push down their throats.

Companies, Gangsters Linked on New York Docks

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK, Dec. 10 — A murderous gang of cutthroats, thieves and shakedown artists dominate the waterfront of this city, the world's largest port. Their rule is a consequence of the tie-up between heads of the giant stevedore corporations and "King" Joe Ryan, life-time president of the AFL International Longshoremen's Association. This is the picture that emerges from sensational evidence presented at the current hearings of the State Crime Commission.

The voluminous testimony, aimed at demonstrating that the stevedore companies and ship owners are helpless victims of a gangster-ridden union, is proving instead that the real victims are the longshoremen and the public and that back of the gangsters stand the companies. Thousands of dollars are paid off annually by stevedore outfits to virtually every ILA official, one company executive testified, "in order to have them at our beck and call."

One fact alone demonstrates who benefits from mob rule in the ILA. According to unchallenged statistics presented to the commission, **28,000 of New York's 40,000 longshoremen earn less than $3,000 a year!**

"FIVE AND DIME" RYAN

The czar of the ILA is popularly referred to by the rank and file of the union as "Five-and-Dime" Ryan because of the meagerness of the pay increases in the contracts he shoves down their throats. There are cold, hard reasons for Ryan's friendly attitude toward the companies, as can be gathered from the testimony of James C. Kennedy, president of the stevedore company of Daniels & Kennedy.

Part of his testimony, dealing with alleged cash payments of $1,550 a year, reads: Q. — What did Mr. Ryan do, if anything, for the money you gave him? A. — Nothing. Q. — These were just pure gratuities on your part out of the goodness of your heart? A. — Yes Sir. Q. — Didn't you pay that money for the purpose of influencing these union officials? A. — You might call it that."

Screaming headlines of the daily press sound the theme that the union forces the unwilling companies to hire as foremen unsavory figures like Tony Anastasio, brother of Albert, widely known as Lord High Executioner of Murder, Inc., specialists in homicide. The sworn testimony of company executives contradicts the headlines, although it is true that foremen belong to the union and exert power in it.

"A GREAT HELP TO ME"

Anastasio is a hiring boss for the Jarka Corp., world's largest stevedore company. At the time he was hired, it was under pressure from the union, a former company official said, since they had another man in mind for the job. However, he went on, during the course of a one-day stoppage, union officials pleaded with him to change his mind. They claimed that Anastasio "was bad for the union, but good for the stevedores." The company then changed it's mind, put the notorious hoodlum to work, and think he's doing a good job.

Another Jarka official told of payments to Joseph Giantomasi (Joseph the Gent), a dock thug now dead but little missed, for "great help to me personally." He went on to tell how the Gent on one occasion had stopped a walkout on a heavy cargo job.

Another Jarka official explained to the Commission why he had taken on as a hiring boss, Albert Ackilitis. He is reputed to be a former member of the Arsenal mob, a fraternity whose guns were for hire on both sides of the Hudson river. "The guiding thought in hiring him," said the Jarka official, "frankly, was to have on that pier some order and discipline, as I call it, among the men."

"TO PREVENT STRIKES"

An official of the Huron Stevedoring Corp., subsidiary of the Grace Line, testified that their boss loader, Tim O'Mara, who can boast a long burglary record, was on the payroll to the tune of $5,000 a year although he did no work.

"What does O'Mara do to earn this money?" the witness was asked. "He was to keep labor — that they wouldn't be going on strike — that was my understanding." "He was to prevent strikes?" "Prevent strikes, that's right."

The hearings have also begun to expose the influence of powerful political figures in union racketeering. A vice president of the American Export Line told how his company was caught in the middle of an inter-local struggle to determine the hiring boss on their Jersey piers. He soon learned that the guiding hands behind the two competing locals were Ex-Mayor Frank Hague, of Jersey City, and his succesor, John V. Kennedy. He told the hearing that in a phone conversation Hague had urged him to stand behind his choice. Hague said of Kennedy, "He likes his cabbage, and god damn it, he's trying to get in four years what it took me thirty-two years to get."

Documented evidence presented at the hearings show that the payoffs by the stevedore companies to union officials is small change compared to the sums they have paid to steamship company officials to illegally influence the securing of loading contracts. One company alone paid out nearly a half million dollars in five years to top ship line officials for this purpose.

SHAPE-UP AND SHAKEDOWN

The unholy alliance between the shipowners, stevedore companies and union officials is revealed by their unanimous defense of the vicious "shape-up" system by which the dock workers are hired daily. The shape-up, where the men are arbitrarily selected for each day's work by the hiring boss, is the weapon (along with brute force) by which such thugs as those described above maintain their vice-like grip on the union. In addition to being a source of rampant favoritism for supporters of the machine, it is a highly lucrative means of shaking down men in need of a day's work.

The president of the Luckenback Lines, telling to the Commission that although the shape-up system "has always been referred to as something horrible, inhumane, that men are left out in the cold," held it was superior to the rotary hiring hall because, "the hiring hall has served well the left-wing unions."

The principal complaint of the ship owners and stevedore operators appears to be that union officials are getting a bit too greedy. The U.S. Lines decided to abandon one of its piers, the general manager testified, after ten tons of steel disappeared from one of their ships. "It was the most remarkable case of pilferage, really," he said. Company executives, however, appeared unenthusiastic in their testimony about proposals to eliminate racketeering from the docks. A top executive asserted from the stand, "I don't think the prohibition against ex-convicts is the answer. I think the thing to do is to find some means of putting it on a business-like basis."

TASK OF UNION

Rank and file longshoremen have been attending the hearings in large numbers. What they have heard will undoubtedly serve to make more precise their understanding of the crimes committed against them by their leaders. This was testified to by a company official who bitterly told newsmen, "When the next blow-up comes on the docks, this hearing will be the fuel for it."

Despite their keen interest in the revelations at the hearings the dock workers understand that they themselves, and not the Crime Commission have the task of cleaning up the waterfront. According to the **Herald Tribune,** which conducted special interviews along the waterfront, the attitude of the men to the Crime Commission was summed up by one worker who said wearily, "The Crime Commission and ten cents will get a longshoreman into the subway."

Jackie Robinson Speaks Out Against Yankees' Jim Crow

Jackie Robinson, star baseball player for the Brooklyn Dodgers, probably broke as many conventions as he has stolen bases when he spoke out against Jim Crow on a television interview.

On the TV program "Youth Wants To Know" a boy asked Robinson whether there was discrimination in baseball. The answer was "Yes." The Dodger second baseman then named the New York Yankees, making it clear that he was referring not to the players but to the Yankee management.

Interviewed later by phone Robinson told reporters: "It seems to me the Yankee front office has used racial prejudice in its dealings with Negro ball players. I may be wrong but the Yankees will have to prove it to me. . . . The boy just asked me a question and I answered it as simply and directly as I could."

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